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[TFR 186-1]

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A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE TRIP TO THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM

A delegation, consisting of G. Frank (Sweden) a member of the International Committee of Inquiry (further referred to as - MSK) and Professor A. I. Poltorak, visited the DRV from 16 July through 1 August 1970.

During its visit to the DRV, the MSK delegation held a number of brief meetings with the leaders and members of the DRV Commission on the Investigation of US War Crimes in Vietnam (chaired by Comrade Fam Van Bat'), representatives of the Commission of the Temporary Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam, representatives of Laos and Cambodia, as well as the Association of Vietnamese Lawyers . A Soviet delegate met with the chairman of the DRV State Committee for Social Sciences, Comrade Nguyen Kkhan' Toan, to discuss matters concerning cooperation between the Soviet lawyers and their Vietnamese colleagues. Prior to its departure, the delegation was received by the DRV Vice-Premiere and Minister of Foreign Affairs. Private meetings took place as necessary between the Soviet Representative and the Chairman of the DRV State Investigative Committee, Fam Van Bat'. The Soviet Representative informed the leadership of the USSR Embassy in Hanoi about the work of the MSK delegation on a regular basis.

1. Concerning Cooperation with the MSK

A complete agreement was achieved in regards to the matter of cooperation of competent Vietnamese organizations (North and South) with the MSK and a plan of conducting a first cession of an International commission was outlined. It should be noted however, that the agreement on this matter

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Reviewed by DPMO
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Date 12 Aug 99 Initials JSC

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was difficult at first due to the rather guarded approach of Vietnamese side towards the MSK. Over the course of an extended period of time, our Vietnamese friends became more and more active in cooperating with the "Rassel Tribunal". During the very first meeting of the MSK delegation with the DRV State Commission, Comrade Fam Van Bat' emphasized several times that the Vietnamese comrades do not consider that the "Rassel Tribunal" had ceased to exist, but that the Permanent Information Center in Paris continues the activity. It was emphasized, that this Center continues the work of the "Rassel Tribunal" and, as necessary, can create a new tribunal.

A certain ambiguity in the position of our Vietnamese friends in relation to the MSK was clearly felt under these conditions.

In connection with this, the members of the MSK delegation clearly defined the mission of the MSK at the very first meeting. They discussed the totally different organizational principles of the MSK activities in comparison to the "Rassel Tribunal". They showed that the MSK will be guided by a significantly wider social base, and stated that the MSK has the support of all the predominant international organizations and the major activists and legal personalities are active in the Stockholm Movement.

Following the first official session, I felt that it was necessary to talk to Comrade Fam Van Bat' on a more private level, telling him the exact point of view of his Soviet comrades in relation to the MSK. It was made clear from the discussion that our Vietnamese friends consider the composition of the MSK, in the form in which it was established in Stockholm in March of 1970, is not satisfactory to them because there is only a very small number of highly influential social figures. The ambiguity confused the issue of MSK leadership. They were somewhat skeptical of the

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candidacy of Svanstrem in this regard ("Svanstrem is not suitable" - finished Comrade Fam Van Bat'). Finally, they could not agree with the statement by G. Frank that the first session of the MSK would be devoted strictly to organizational matters since at that time this situation essentially required immediate action.

I tried to dispel the doubts of Comrade Fam Van Bat', saying that I was convinced that the first session would not be strictly organizational {in nature}. Subsequently, having received the answer to my inquiry through the embassy, I was able to finally convince our Vietnamese friends of this. At the same time, I made it clear to Comrade Fam Van Bat' that the opinion of the Soviet friends, in regard to the composition of the Commission selected in Stockholm, was that it needed to be modified. I informed him that Myurdal' not Svanstrem was nominated for the position of Chairman, although I found it necessary to dispel any doubts in relation to the former.

This private conversation, apparently, was enough to remove his doubt to a certain degree, however my impression is that the Vietnamese side would prefer a combination, in which the MSK and "Rassel Tribunal" (in its modern form) would peacefully co-exist, as the optimal variant.

In my opinion, a radical change in the Vietnamese position occurred after the second private meeting, which took place on the initiative of our Vietnamese friends. The Soviet delegate was informed by Comrade Fam Van Bat' on the standing resolution of the Vietnamese initiative concerning the development of a powerful campaign to disclose American crimes in Vietnam. In this decision it is noted that the campaign must be viewed as "the most important political and diplomatic mission of the party and State".

During the course of this discussion specific measures were mentioned on how our delegation could be provided assistance.

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The overall feeling is that the Vietnamese Commission apparatus has begun work at a totally different pace.

2. The delegation's activities on the collection of evidence

While the delegation was in the DRV, it managed to collect a significant amount of material evidence concerning US crimes in Indochina.

A large amount of documents was made available to us which contained reports by various commissions concerning new US crimes.

The delegation went to several places where crimes had been committed, inspected the populated areas which had suffered enemy bomb attacks (Nin Bin', Fat Diyam, Khajfon, Khalong Region). We familiarized ourselves with the material evidence, various models of barbaric weaponry and photographs. We questioned a significant number of witnesses. Among these witnesses were victims of napalm, phosphorus, and aerial bombing strikes as well as those who have suffered due to the use of new improved types of weapons.

Our Vietnamese friends made it possible for us to question a number of witnesses from South Vietnam concerning the facts of crimes in concentration camps, prisons and the course of the implementation of the so-called "Vietnamization" and "rapid pacification".

Finally, the delegation was given the opportunity to question three American POW fliers and one American Army deserter.

The material collected in this manner can be compiled into a report for the International Committee of Inquiry.

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3. Advisory assistance to our Vietnamese friends

During the course of selecting evidence (for the MSK delegation as well as for the Vietnamese comrades), I became acquainted with the character and procedure for the work of the DRV investigative agencies on the disclosure of American military crimes. In connection with this, having a certain amount of experience in this area, I considered it advisable to make a number of recommendations to our Vietnamese colleagues.

The Soviet delegate paid special attention to the insufficient validity of [some] pieces of evidence, in particular the witness testimonies. He also gave advice on how to remove the deficiencies in this area. He paid special attention to the necessity of greater accuracy in the legal qualifications of the crimes, on the advisability of establishing the probable guilty party in the documents concerning the crimes, as well as the material damage suffered as a result of these crimes. A number of other recommendations were mentioned, particularly in connection with the films shown. I shared with our Vietnamese friends the information which we have concerning the forms and methods of official American propaganda that is used to cloud the facts surrounding the crimes or at least distance the US Government and American Command from accepting any responsibility for the atrocities committed.

4. The composition of the International Committee of Inquiry

Our Vietnamese comrades agreed with the nomination of Gunar Myurdal for the post of MSK Chairman. They consider that there must be four vice-chairmen (from the USSR - preferably L. Smirnov [appointed to name], the US, Africa, Asia, Latin America). It is the general opinion that more new members could possibly be from the US and Japan.

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The organization of a permanent secretariat, consisting of three individuals (one each from the USSR, the USA, and Sweden) and three sub-committees, each concentrating on a specific area of interest, was proposed as a working apparatus for the MSK.

5. The agenda for the first session of the MSK

a) There was a very detailed exchange of opinions on this matter. The tendency of the Vietnamese side was based on maximizing the possible politization of the session's work. From this stand point, the proposal for the review was made during the very first meeting on the matter of aggression against Cambodia, the formation of support for the principles of the resolution of Vietnamese, Laotian and Cambodian matters in the name of the International Committee of Inquiry. They wanted the formation of support to reflect the manner in which it was formed by the DRV, Temporary Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam, the Sianuk Royal Government and the Laotian Patriotic Front.

Unfortunately, there, in Vietnam, my colleague G. Frank has supported this erroneous, in my opinion, position. I had to declare that a distinction exists between the Stockholm conferences in support of Vietnam, which could and would determine its relationship to the various political problems in Indochina, and the International Commission of Inquiry on military crimes, the competence and operating limits of which is clearly defined in the very title of the agency itself. The Soviet delegate noted that if the Commission wants the international community to believe its statements and findings, then it should refrain from drawing conclusions on matters that it has not researched or that fall outside the scope of its activities. The International Committee of Inquiry

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makes policy, but only with the help of these forms and methods, which are characteristic of similar organizations. The Soviet delegate was convincing the Vietnamese comrades that the success of MSK activities could be judged on the same level of trust that the people hold in this Committee's documents. It is important therefore, that the activities of the Committee were dominated by judicial methods of research common to a lay person, so that any conclusions or findings of the Committee stem from iron-clad research.

On the surface, the Vietnamese comrades agreed with this argument and promised to carry out changes to the text of their proposals accordingly. In reality, everything remained as before on the matter of the final variant of the document which was delivered prior to departure from the Hanoi airport.

b) The Vietnamese comrades established the composition of their delegation while discussing the agenda to be conducted in the first session. The delegations from the DRV and South Vietnam will consist of four members from each side and the delegations from Laos and Cambodia will consist of two members each.

A provision for five witnesses from the DRV and South Vietnam to attend the first session is being made. The Vietnamese comrades recommend that, if possible, former US servicemen who had returned from Vietnam act as witnesses, as well as foreigners, who were in South Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia and could provide evidence concerning US crimes committed in these countries, should also be used. On the same note, the Vietnamese side requests that representatives from several international and national organizations be invited to the first session.

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An agreement was reached, that the first MSK session will listen to a report from its delegation located in the DRV, reports from the four delegations of Indochina (DRV, South Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia), as well as review all the evidence (documents, witnesses, physical evidence) accompanying these reports. As agreed, in order to ensure the dynamic work of the International Committee of Inquiry, all reports will be presented to its members to be studied ahead of time. Under these conditions, the speakers may present a condensed version, up to 15 minutes each, of their reports.

All of the other proposals from the Vietnamese side (they are in the attachment to our report) contain details on procedure, provision of a translation system, as well as a condition that the International Committee of Inquiry would assume all expenditures associated with the participation of the four delegations from Indochina.

6. The Joint Memorandum from the Lawyers of Socialist Countries

In the first discussion comrade Fam Van Bat' agreed with our idea of such a memorandum that would outline an analysis of the aggressive US policies in Indochina. He only noted that he must consult with the members of the Commission of Inquiry. After a short time, I received the response: "The members of the Commission agree". However, several hours prior to the departure from Hanoi to Moscow, Comrade Fam Van Bat' gave me the information that, unfortunately, the positive response that I was given is not be considered final, due to the fact that he still has to "discuss it with his comrades from the DRV Peace Committee". Several days after arriving in Moscow,

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the Secretary of this Committee, in responding to my question, suggested that the leaders of the Association of Soviets Lawyers address this matter by contacting the leaders of the Association of Vietnamese Lawyers. I can only state that I presented this question many times while I was in Hanoi to the Head of the Association of Vietnamese Lawyers, Comrade Fam Van Bat'.

In completing this report, having acknowledged that the work had some difficult areas, one should recognize that an agreement was reached on the most important issue. All four delegations, with whom we negotiated, approved creating the MSK and displayed their readiness to closely cooperate with it. The major issues of preparation and conduct of the first Commission session were, as a whole, reviewed in a productive manner.

At the same time, the exchange of opinions concerning the conduct of the second Commission session was addressed. The following were taken into consideration:

a) the special place that Songmi occupies in the history of American crimes in Vietnam;
b) an active campaign of falsification is being conducted in the US for an extended period of time, with the goal of perverting the extensive history of the crime;
c) that our Vietnamese friends have currently collected a significant amount of new documents in this area and realized that it would be advisable to especially devote an investigation into the crimes at Songmi at the second Commission session.

Upon arrival to Moscow, I briefly reported the results of the trip and the proposals mentioned below are based on the experience of this trip.

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1. Resulting from that, it is a well known fact that the most important conditions of any form of propaganda are accuracy and persuasiveness. This is especially true for activities in which the MSK or similar agencies are involved. A great significance is placed on correct legal qualifications as well as establishing the facts. Keeping this in mind, it is recognized that one of the major tasks in creating the composition of the Committee is the recruitment, especially from the USA, Canada and other western countries, of highly qualified and high profile lawyers who are specialists in the fields of criminal and international law. A good source for filling the Committee's positions could be the Committee of American Lawyers on Vietnam, headed by U. Standard. Specifically from that Committee, Richard Folk, Dzhon Frid and Uil'yam Standard should be invited to join the International Commission of Inquiry. In addition, it would be wise to include the famous American lawyer, Mark Lehjn.

Representatives of the legal communities within Poland and Bulgaria should also be invited to take part in the session and join the Commission in order to strengthen the representation from socialist countries.

2. It is advisable to create a preparation meeting one week prior to the first session of the MSK in either Helsinki or Stockholm.

Keep in mind that all the reports and their supporting material evidence will be presented at the preparation session. The goal of the meeting is to - verify that everything is ready prior to the session.

Participation by [at least] one member from each of the four Indochinese countries, several members of the MSK (L. Smirnov, B. Svanstrem, Nejlands (USA), Norman (MAYuD) as well as members of the permanent secretariat would also be considered advisable.

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3. A draft of an International Committee of Inquiry statute and procedure rules should be developed.

4. Discuss during the preparation meeting, the issue of titling the document produced during the International Committee of Inquiry's session. Initially, the following titles could be proposed: "Indictment Statement", "Indictment Findings", International Committee of Inquiry Report", "Peoples accuse" (MSK report)", "In the Name of the People".

5. It is advisable to divide the propaganda measures, which are associated with the International Committee of Inquiry, into three stages:

a) Prior to the session

A powerful campaign must be conducted to disclose the American crimes in Indochina during this time prior to the session through Soviet press, via APN [handwritten "and TASS"] in foreign press, on radio and television (Soviet and foreign - via OIRT and "Intervidenie"). During the course of this propaganda campaign, the disclosure of facts must be linked to the upcoming MSK session. The International Committee of Inquiry membership and its preparatory work prior to the session must be discussed.

b) During the session

- Create a Committee Press Center attached to the Secretariat, which will provide all the necessary materials for the mass media agencies.
- Organize a wide publication of materials concerning the work of the session and the MSK, in the Soviet press as well as the foreign press.
- Task the State Committee for Radio and Television Broadcasting of the USSR Council of Ministers to provide a wide dissemination of the course of the session's work

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on Soviet television, as well as via the "Intervidenie" television network for those who can receive this signal. Adopt possible measures through negotiations between "Intervidenie" and "Eurovidenie" to broadcast the work of the Committee session to western countries.

c) After the session

- Task the State Committee for Radio and Television Broadcasting of the USSR Council of Ministers to create (jointly with Swedish television, if possible) a full length documentary film about the work of the MSK.

- Have the Cinematographic Committee attached to the USSR Council of Ministers review the possibility of making a feature film dedicated to the tragedy in Songmi.

- Charge the International Committee of Inquiry's Secretariat with preparing a "Full-color book" about the results of the work of the MSK session. Task the "Political Literature" and "Progress" publishing houses with publishing this book in Russian and in foreign languages. Simultaneously, make the Committee's Secretariat responsible for adopting possible measures to publish this book in publishing houses of western countries.

- Recognize the necessity for providing the widest dissemination of the International Committee of Inquiry's finalized document, which must be published under the aegis of the Stockholm Coordination Committee and the MSK. Task the Committee's Secretariat with this mission. In the Soviet Union, task the "Political Literature" and "Progress" publishing houses.

(A detailed account is provided to the Soviet Peace Committee).

[signature] A. Poltorak

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[TFR 186-13]

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Translated from Vietnamese

STATEMENT MADE BY THE GOVERNMENT OF THE DRV CONCERNING THE ESCALATION OF THE WAR BY THE US IMPERIALISTS AND THEIR EXPANSION OF AGGRESSION IN LAOS

Several days ago the US imperialists, having mobilized tens of thousands of South Vietnamese and American soldiers, together with the puppet forces of Vientiane and mercenaries from Thailand under US command who had invaded Laos, began large scale aggressive operations against this country. The public opinion in the US as well as in the rest of the world strongly condemns this act. The Nixon administration has effected its next farce by having the puppet Nguyen Van Tkhieu make a statement that the Saigon puppet forces had inflicted strikes in Laos. They also provided a multitude of false reasons, such as "actions in self-defense" to provide protection for US forces, that this operation "is limited in scope and time"... However, none of these tricks can hide the truth, that the US is the aggressor, flagrantly violating the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, peace and neutrality of the Kingdom of Laos, as well as violating the Geneva Accords of 1962, to which the US is a signatory and has the obligation to uphold.

The fact that the Americans have concentrated great numbers of forces south of the 17th parallel and have positioned forces along the DRV border signify that the US intends to implement new military actions against the DRV. This represents a direct threat to the security of the DRV.

These actions by the US are a new and very serious step in the escalation of the war in Indochina. It has created an especially dangerous situation in South East Asia and the entire world.

In this manner, the Nixon administration has expanded the war during the past 10 months into two countries on the Indochina

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peninsula: into Cambodia and Laos. This is evidence to the fact that the Nixon administration does not want peace, but intends to prolong, strengthen and expand the war in Indochina. The US not only does not wish to respect the basic national rights of the Laotian people, but instead wants to crush them. It does not desire to end this aggressive war. Instead, it intends to violate the peace of every country in Indochina. These horrible aggressive actions made by the United States have revealed the insidious essence of the so called "five point peace plan" and other "initiatives" of President Nixon.

The implementation of the "Nixon doctrine", the idea of which is to pit the Indochinese peoples against each other and use the Saigon puppet forces as cannon-fodder for aggression against Laos together with the faction of loyal followers of Tkhie-Ki-Kkhiem shows even further the false face of the malicious traitors of the people. In their own statements, in which black gets intertwined with white, the ruling powers of Vientiane strongly urged the US and Saigon puppet forces to violate the sovereignty and ravage Laos, allowing them to exterminate the Laotian people.

The Vietnamese people and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam always had a strong desire to have a peaceful and neutral Laos on our western border and wished to establish and develop neighborly relations with this country on the basis of the five principles of peaceful co-existence. The subsequent position of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam stems from strict adherence to the Geneva Accords of 1962 on Laos with respect to the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and neutrality of the Kingdom of Laos and forceful demand that the US would stringently observe and comply with these Accords. However, the US, having overthrown the three-sided coalition government of Laos, openly violated the Geneva Accords of 1962 on Laos immediately after signing them. The US increased and strengthened it's interference in the operation of Laos and this has led to the current insolent and aggressive actions directed at this country.

The Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, one of

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the signatories of the 1954 Geneva Accords on Indochina and the Geneva Accords of 1962 on Laos, in this extreme emergency situation, solemnly states. The government of the DRV vehemently condemns the US government for placing Saigon puppet forces on the territory of the Kingdom of Laos and for their acts of aggression against it as well as for violating the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and neutrality of the Kingdom of Laos and breaking the Geneva Accords of 1962 on Laos.

The DRV government totally supports the statement made by the Patriotic Front of Laos on 8 February concerning the escalation of the war in Laos by the Nixon administration. The DRV government emphatically demands that the US government immediately cease the aggressive war in Laos, South Vietnam and Cambodia, as well as completely withdraw all American forces and forces from US satellites from Indochina so that each country in Indochina can independently resolve it's own internal matters.

The Vietnamese people, loyal to the historical Statement of the Conference of the Peoples of Indochina at the highest level, shoulder to shoulder with their brother Laotian and Khmer people, will resolutely continue and intensify their struggle against the common enemy - the American aggressors and their lackeys. The peoples of the three countries of Indochina will decisively increase active offensive operations, striking blows against the enemy on all fronts and will punish them in an appropriate manner. The people and the government of the DRV are convinced that the army and people of Laos under the wise leadership of the Patriotic Front of Laos will certainly destroy the new military ventures of the Nixon administration. The whole stratum of the Laotian population will take part in the struggle against the American aggressors and their satellites and will do this via various methods. The Laotian people are certain of victory in defense of their independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and neutrality.

The DRV government vehemently condemns the preparations for new military actions against the DRV by the American government and in complete seriousness asks: Vietnamese people, developing a feeling of a high degree of vigilance, must condemn any new

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adventurous acts by the US to failure. The Nixon administration and it's puppets must be held totally responsible for any consequences, which could arise as a result of these military actions.

The Vietnamese people and DRV government urgently call upon the peoples and governments of our brother socialist countries, countries that value the ideals of peace and justice, international organizations, peoples of the entire world and American people to rise up in the decisive struggle to fend off the new adventurous military actions of the US in Laos and in all of Indochina, to intensify support for the struggle against the US to save the homeland of the Vietnamese, Laotian and Khmer peoples.

By deploying aggressive American-Saigon forces in Cambodia, the Nixon administration could not save the plan of "vietnamization" of the war in South Vietnam and furthermore suffered many new serious losses in Cambodia. In expanding the war in Laos this time, the Nixon administration will definitely suffer serious losses not only in Laos, but also in Vietnam and Cambodia. The struggle against the US to save the homeland of the peoples of Indochina is certain to gain a glorious victory.

Hanoi
10 February 1971

True copy: [signature]
M. Isaev

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[TFR 186-17]

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FROM THE JOURNAL OF
S. I. DIVIL'KOVSKIJ

[stamp "Vietnam"]

Secret Copy No.2
"16" January 1969
Issue No. 9

NOTES FROM THE MEETINGS

with the Acting Head of the Permanent Delegation of the NFOYuV in the DRV Nguyen Fu Soaj

30 December 1968
3 January 1969

I met with Nguyen Fu Soaj, the representative of the NFOYuV, on 30 December as per the agreement. In accordance with the order from the Center, I officially thanked our friend Nguyen Khyu Tkho for congratulating Comrade L.I. Brezhnev on his 62nd birthday. I reported that New Year's greetings had been sent to the address of Nguyen Khyu Tkho by comrade L. I. Brezhnev. As soon as the greeting is received at the Embassy, it will be immediately sent to the delegation.

Soaj said that the thank you [message] from Comrade Brezhnev to Nguyen Khyu Tkho as well as the report on the New Year's greeting would be sent as directed.

During the meeting, Soaj addressed a press report dated 24 December concerning student demonstrations. The students were demanding an end to the war and requested that negotiations begin with the NFOYuV for a peaceful regulation of the situation in South Vietnam. Soaj made it clear, that the Front has direct link with this demonstration's organization and is attempting to organize new demonstrations in the near future. The 24 December demonstration, according to Soaj, is a sign of what is to come in future large scale political demonstrations in the cities of South Vietnam. The purpose of these demonstrations is the overthrow of the puppet government or at least the removal of a number of it's activists, such as Ki, and to change the government's policies concerning negotiations with the NFOYuV. The demonstration was used as a type of reconnaissance, a test of force used to feel out the reactions of the puppet forces and the Americans. Currently, the Saigon puppets are frightened and are awaiting new demonstrations. This explains why they are refusing to announce a truce during the New Year's holiday period. Soaj gave a negative response to the question concerning whether or not the government's action is connected to a concern with a possibility of a new large scale offensive by NFO armed forces.

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of the TsK KPSS
Sector Head [signature](Kubashev)
15D5 "30" Jan 1969"]

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When Soaj was questioned on whether the concept for overthrowing the puppet government involved only political demonstrations or demonstrations in concert with military measures, Soaj responded that only political measures are currently being discussed. He emphasized that the Front announced a halt to military activities during the New Year's holiday and had intended to observe the truce, limiting itself to reciprocal actions in response to direct hostile actions by the enemy.

Soaj stressed that the announcement of the truce was denounced by the Saigon element, not the Americans. He discussed the opposition between the US and the Saigon puppets. The intention of the US to leave South Vietnam, having placed it's proteges in power, in Soaj's words, goes directly against the "personal interests" of the current Saigon leadership. The leadership fears that if the US withdraws its forces from South Vietnam, the Saigon leadership would not be able to hold on to power after the withdrawal.

Soaj contrasts the decision made by the Americans to hold a second meeting with the representatives of the NFOYuV on 1 Jan to discuss the matter of the transfer of three American POWs liberated by the Front with Saigon's decision to denounce the truce on the very same day. In Soaj's words, the Americans are interested in conducting a second meeting because of their interest in the possibility that the Front might be able to liberate more prisoners in the future. For the Front, Soaj notes that the meetings take on a special significance from the point of view that they demonstrate that the Americans officially recognize the NFOYuV.

Soaj emphasized the importance of the matter concerning the American's recognition of the Front. In can be inferred from Soaj's statement that the refusal to recognize the Front could be a major obstacle in the implementation of the US's desire to withdraw it's forces from South Vietnam under "honorable conditions".

I met Soaj once again on 3 Jan in the NFOYuV delegation. In accordance with the Center's orders I gave him a packet for Nguyen Khyu Tkho (New Year's greeting from Comrade L.I. Brezhnev), which was received by the Embassy via diplomatic mail on the evening of 2 Jan. Soaj thanked me for it and promised that the packet would be immediately sent to Tkho.

During the short discussion, Soaj mainly talked about the military operations that the American-Saigon forces conducted during the New Year's holiday. In particular, he talked about the continued bombing of the area around Saigon by American B-52 aircraft. Soaj emphasized that the armed forces of the Front,

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[TFR 186-19]

for their part, observed the truce that was announced and returned fire only when they were attacked.

According to Soai, there weren't any important political events that took place in Saigon over the New Year's holiday. There has not been any change perceived in the Saigon government's position concerning negotiations with participation of members of the NFOYuV. However, the latest (New Year's) speech by Tkhieu, in Soai's words, was less self-assured than previous ones.

USSR Embassy Advisor
to the DRV [signature]

(S. Divil'kovskii)

Typed 1 copy
1 - OYuVA
2 - Department of the TsK KPSS
3 - file copy
13 Jan 1969
MP No. 18
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(I. Kovalenko)

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[TFR 186-20]

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FROM THE JOURNAL OF
G.V. CHESHEV

Secret Copy No. 2
"31" January 1969
Issue No. 38

NOTES FROM A MEETING
with 1st Secretary of the PNR Embassy in the DRV
Vladislav Badura

23 January 1969

I visited Badura at his request.

The information received was obtained from Dobrovol'skij, the ambassador in Saigon. It concerned the matters of the political situation in Vietnam, the interrelationship between Peking and the NFOYuV and the internal political situation in South Vietnam.

1. According to a report dated 22 January, the Deputy Head of the Saigon bureau of the "France Press" agency stated in a conversation with Dobrovol'skij that a meeting took place on 21 January between Tkhieu and US Assistant Secretary of State Aleksis Dzhonson. During this meeting an American-Saigon agreement was apparently reached on a four point program, which is to be one of the main topics of discussion at the Paris Conference.x/

1. The liberation of POWs by the Saigon regime.
2. Control over infiltration points.
3. The reinstatement of the status of the demilitarized zone.
4. A cease fire.

The Americans are apparently putting pressure on the Saigon element on the topic of liberating POWs. However, Tkhieu has encountered some difficulties in this matter, in view of the sharp divergence of the propaganda numbers and the actual number of "Viet Cong" POWs in South Vietnam.

The American journalists Ross and Bem confirmed the information of the Frenchman, emphasizing that the first topic of discussion will concern the demilitarized zone and a cease

x/ Information transmitted by telegraph

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fire.

According to information from Dobrovol'skij, Dzhonson confirmed to the journalists that the policy the US is currently following in Vietnam is proper and that he [Dzhonson] will not recommend any changes to Nixon.

2. According to a report dated 22 January, Dobrovol'skij found out from a conversation with an American journalist who had recently been to Cambodia that the Chinese people living in Cambodia play a major role as a middleman for equipping NFOYuV units with chinese weapons and food rations. There are even instances where the Chinese people living in Cambodia have joined the armed forces of the Front.

The KNR Embassy in Phnom-Penh maintains constant contact with the mid-level leaders of the NFOYuV and the embassy workers act as middlemen for rice purchases in Cambodia which are delivered to the Front.

According to a report by the Polish ambassador, he also has other information sources concerning the connections of the Chinese Embassy in Cambodia with members of the NFO at his disposal.

3. According to a report dated 21 January, a meeting of the "National General Assembly" took place on 19 January (a week late). The Head of the Catholic Church of South Vietnam Quang Kuinh and the Catholic leadership, which had escaped from the North, initiated the convocation. In the opinion of the organizers, this "assembly" was to be carried out under the slogans of "peace" with nationwide government support on matters concerning the creation of bases for agreements with the Buddhists. However, these events showed that an overwhelming majority of the political and religious groups in South Vietnam are opposed to the ideas of Catholic supremacy in the matter of achieving peace and the governmental policy on this matter. The "assembly" was a fiasco: of the total number of individuals expected to attend (1500), only 200 showed up; a buddhist militant group, the Vietnamese Kuomintang Party, Daj Viet and the Vietnamese Labor Confederation all replied that they would not attend.

In the opinion of observers, the failure of the "assembly" was also a defeat of the government, who wanted to showcase this event as evidence of the wide support the regime enjoyed from the Vietnamese population. The Buddhists have their own program for achieving peace in Vietnam,

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[TFR 186-22]

however, they intended to publish it only after the publication of the government's "peace programs", which the Saigon leadership had once announced.

I thanked Comrade Badura for the information.

II Secretary of the USSR
Embassy in DRV

[signature]

(G. Cheshev)

[stamp "Informational material familiarized in the International Department of the TsK KPSS Sector Head [signature] 25b/3"]

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Typed 1 copy
1 - OYuVA
2 - Department TsK KPSS
3 - file copy
31 Jan 69
MP No. 137
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[the following three pages are from another document. The document is joined in progress and the handwritten numbers are not in the same sequence as the previous two pages.]

year. It is without a doubt that despite the absence of a normal means to implement the functions assigned to it, the Commission needs to be maintained to continue the struggle to defend the Geneva Accords, which the United States has been seriously violating.

Taking into account the opinions of our Laotian, Vietnamese, Chinese and Polish comrades, the Soviet side proposed that the activities of the Commission be continued for one year. The British agreed with this proposal. The co-chairmen sent a memo to the governments of the state participants of the 1962 Geneva Accords on 25 November 1965 in which it was reported that "they do not consider it advisable to recommend that the current activities of the Commission, observation and oversight in Laos, cease. They propose that a review of these activities be conducted no later than 23 July 1966 in order to develop recommendations for the future". The recommendation was accepted by the majority of the participants of the Geneva Convention, including the government of Suvanna Fuma.

However, in the beginning of 1966 the NLKhS (10 January 1966), the DRV government (19 January 1966) and the government of KNR (18 January 1966), having changed their previous position, proposed that the activities of the Commission cease on a temporary basis until such time that a "singular opinion is reached by the state participants of the Geneva Convention and the three political forces in Laos" in regards to the further fate of the MKK in Laos.

In association with this, the DRV government and the NLKhS leadership reported that, in the absence of an unanimous agreement, the recommendation of the co-chairmen dated 25 November 1965 is null and void. However, the Commission continues to exist due to the absence of an unanimous opinion to halt the Commission's activities.

As far as the governments of the KNR, DRV and NLKhS are concerned, they are operating on the principle that the Commission's activities ceased as of 23 July 1965. Nevertheless, our Vietnamese and Laotian friends continue to turn to the Commission with protests against American intervention in Laos.

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A rather serious situation developed in the Commission after 1965. The Canadian delegation followed the line of the US and the government of Suvanna Fuma, which attempted to get the Commission to review instances in which the DRV and NLKhS violated the Geneva Accords of 1962. The US line also hoped the Commission would confirm the presence of North Vietnamese forces in Laos and their participation in military operations. The Polish delegation, developing it's position during consultations with the Soviet side, proposed that in view of the aggression by the US, conditions for the Commission to conduct normal activities do not exist. The Polish delegation alluded to the fact that as per the Geneva Accords, the Commission must act in cooperation with, upon the initiative of or with the permission of the Royal Government of Laos. The delegation further mentioned that since a coalition government does not exist, the Commission can operate only with the agreement by all opposing parties - the former coalition participants. The delegation from India occupies a midway position, at times supporting the proposal from the Polish delegation while at other times supporting the Canadian position. It continually emphasizes its "objectivity" in the situation.

The opposing positions of the Commission members and interested parties have determined the results of the Commission's work in recent years. The main questions comprising the Commission's agenda are: questions pertaining to the investigation and trips by commissioners to the areas where armed conflict took place; the preparation of reports to the co-chairmen concerning the Commission's activities in recent years; the financial position of the Commission and the reduction of it's staff.

Concerning the first question, despite the protests from the Polish delegation, the Indian and Canadian commissioners made trips in February 1968 and January 1969 to southern Laos to the area of armed confrontation. However, not a single statement was made following these trips.

Concerning the second question, on the initiative of the Canadian delegation with support from the Indian delegation, the Commission continued to work on drawing up reports to the co-chairmen. In particular, the report concerning the activities of the MKK during the latter half of 1963 and the first quarter of 1964 was compiled by the Indians. The Polish delegation tried to delay the report, submitting a number of changes, but the Canadians and Indians accepted them in full.

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Currently, the Polish representatives face a matter as to what they must undertake in order to prevent the report from being ratified and sent to the co-chairmen.

The situation revolving around the MKK became even more complicated due to serious financial difficulties. A number of nations, primarily KNR, are not fulfilling their obligations in accordance with article 18 of the Protocol. The KNR obligation as of September 1966 stood at 497,050 pounds sterling. The Commission has discussed this financial matter many times over, but by 1968 still had not reached a decision. It has however adopted a new character because the Commission basically implemented the Soviet proposal for reducing the Commission's staff the number of officers in the communications group was sharply reduced, as well as the number of protection force personnel and part of the worker force of the MKK international secretariat. In the opinion of the Polish delegation, further reductions in MKK personnel do not seem feasible.

The legal status of the Commission is currently still undetermined. The NLKhS leadership declared that the Commission is not required to act but can simply exist because the matter concerning it's future status was resolved by all participants of the Geneva Accords. They, apparently, understand that the Commission may still be needed in the future.

The Soviet side spoke out for the preservation of the Commission, sighting that under certain conditions the Commission can play a positive role, considering the expansion of American interference in Laos.

MID USSR SOUTHEAST ASIA DEPARTMENT

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.Sep 1969

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[TFR 186-26]

Secret Copy No. 1
"29" September 1969
No. 406/yuva
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number "32613" stamped over it]

CONCERNING THE MILITARY SITUATION IN LAOS
(short information report)

In 1969 the military situation in Laos became worse. The armed forces of the opposing sides - the right-neutralist group of Suvanna Fuma and the Patriotic Front of Laos (Neo Lao Khak Sat (NLKhS)) - during the course of the spring-summer period, both sides conducted an entire series of rather large-scale offensive operations.

The Americans, who completely finance and supply the armed forces of the Viantiane government, tried to weaken the military positions of the NLKhS and at the same time tried to move into areas where resupply lines running from the DRV to South Vietnam were located (Central Laos).

The national-patriotic forces in Laos, who are supported by the DRV, have established missions to carry out strikes against the more important strategic enemy points and partially widen the territory of the liberated zone.

In April-May of this year, the Viantiane group of forces carried out offensive operations in the northern sector of the country against the most important strategic area of the Plain of Jars, controlled by the NLKhS. They were able to achieve several successes with the aid of American air support, particularly the capture of the major population center of Xiangkhoang in the Plain of Jars.

However, the NLKhS forces, supported by DRV units, conducted counterattacks and were able to retake the positions that were lost. Further, they successfully conducted an operation

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in the area of an important strong point of the right wing Laotian forces, Muong Suj (80 km southeast of the royal capital of Luang Prabang). By the end of June, the city of Muong Suj and the surrounding area were under NLKhS control.

The success of the Laotian patriotic forces caused a clamor in the zone which was under Vientiane governmental control. The right wing Laotian activists conducted a propaganda campaign against the DRV, accusing it of committing the "aggression" and so forth. It is quite conceivable that the Americans used this situation to widen their influence in right wing Laotian circles.

The government of Suvanna Fuma conducted a number of diplomatic actions with the support of the Americans and the British, directed at slowing down further offensive operations by the NLKhS and DRV and to preclude the possibility of the repeat of events, such as those which occurred in the area of Muong Suj. The principle calculations of Suvanna Fuma and western elements are built on convincing the Soviet Union to "put pressure" on the leaders of the NLKhS and the DRV.

At the same time right wing forces have been preparing, with the support from American and Thai sources, to conduct a series of offensive operations in areas that are the most vulnerable to our Vietnamese and Laotian friends (Plain of Jars and the area around road No. 9 in Central Laos).

According to reports from our embassies in Bangkok and Vientiane, the offensive operations were planned by the American military command with a goal of improving the position of the American and Saigon forces in South Vietnam.

The right wing Laotian forces, from the end of August through the beginning of September, conducted attacks on the Plain of Jars with support from Thai combat units. The element of surprise, the big numerical advantage (up to 14 battalions), as well as American organization of air support for ground forces allowed the right wing forces to enjoy temporary success. Over the course of several days

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they were able to capture the main centers in the Plain of Jars and forced the NLKhS units from the DRV to retreat into the mountains which surround the Plain.

Attacks on NLKhS positions along road No. 9 (Central Laos) began at the same time. The right wing forces took control of the regions' important strategic point, the city of Chepon, following heavy fighting. According to western information agencies, the right wing forces severed communication lines running from North Vietnam to South Vietnam (the so called "Ho Chi Minh Trail").

Our Laotian and Vietnamese friends indirectly recognize that they were under a lot of pressure from the enemy to abandon a number of positions. However, they do not view these events as a military defeat. The DRV Minister of Foreign Affairs Nguyen Zuj Chin' characterized the loss of the Plain of Jars by the NLKhS forces as a NLKhS tactical setback during a meeting in Hanoi with the USSR ambassador.

It can be inferred from the statements made by our Vietnamese and Laotian friends that they are ready to conduct a counterattack, which could facilitate not only re-establishing the situation, but improving it as well. According to our friends, NLKhS forces and DRV units will begin to counterattack just as soon as they regroup in the areas adjacent to the Plain of Jars.

At the same time information has surfaced that the Americans and right wing Laotian forces, for their part, are taking measures to strengthen their positions and repel a possible counterattack of NLKhS and DRV forces. In connection with this, the US has sharply increased it's weapons deliveries to Laos from bases in Thailand using aircraft from the "Air America" company. A concentration of Thai forces along the Laos - Thailand border has been observed. There has been a notable increase in the number of Thai military advisors in Laos.

In an interview with journalists (22 and 23 September of this year) Suvanna Fuma noted that the main goal of the latest operations

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by royal forces was the destruction of Vietnamese weapons and ammunition storage facilities to prevent the "enemy" from conducting as usual the offensive on the government zone once the "dry season" starts. The Laotian Prime Minister denied any involvement by American and Thai forces and once again emphasized that he is against having any foreign forces on Laotian territory.

A conclusion can be drawn from the analysis of the reports and the statements from both sides that despite the significant increase in military activity in comparison to recent years, there has not been any real change in the position of military - political forces in the country. As it appears to be, Suvanna Fuma does not plan to reatain the areas captured in the liberated zone. Our Laotian and Vietnamese friends, for their part, reaffirm that they do not currently have as their goal the liberation of the entire territory of Laos by military means.

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24 Oct 69"]

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[TFR 186-30]

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Secret Copy No. 1
No. 463 /yuva
"29" September 1969
[stamped over stamp "32613"] [handwritten "100"]

CONCERNING THE SITUATION IN LAOS IN AREAS CONTROLLED BY NEO LAO KHAK SAT
(Report)

The regions of Laos under control of Neo Lao Khak Sat and the group of leftist neutralists who have aligned themselves with him, according to our Laotian friends, comprises about 2/3 of the territory of the country with a population of approximately 800,000 people.[x/] The liberated areas were formed on the basis of partisan bases of Patet Lao, created during the struggle with the French Colonialists and Americans during the period 1945 - 1962.

Up until now, the liberated regions and partisan bases of patriotic forces are located in 14 of the 16 provinces in Laos. They are dispersed throughout the country, cut off from each other and located, as a rule, in mountainous areas with thick vegetation that are hard to reach and which are only 40% - 50% (mainly nation minorities) populated. The minorities include Meo, Tha, Thai and others who are also living in KNR, Thailand and Vietnam. The Province of Samnea is the administrative and political center of the liberated zone and this is where the central NLKhS agencies are located.

Our Laotian friends consider the creation of the liberated zone one of the major conquests of the patriotic forces. They have emphasized many times that they view it as a base for further revolutionary struggles and a basis for building socialism in Laos in the future.

During the last few years, the NLKhS has proceeded along the lines of strengthening, primarily from a military point of view, the liberated areas with DRV and KNR support. They have also fortified the regions from economic and political-administrative points of view.

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x/ According to available information, the population of Laos is approximately 2.5 to 3 million people.

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The defense of the liberated regions is the main mission of the People's Army for the Liberation of Laos.x/

In 1968-1969 the military initiative mainly was in the hands of the patriotic forces, supported by DRV units. They were able to conduct successful operations resulting in the liberation of Nam Bak, Muong Suj and a number of other strategically important regions in the northern part of the country.

However, the governmental forces, with American air support, carried out decisive strikes on the positions of our friends, in particular, recently in the Plain of Jars, as well as in the area of Chepon (Central Laos).

The US bombing of the liberated regions inflicts serious damage to our friends. The intensity of these bombings since the end of 1968 has grown 3-4 times and recently has been as much as 400-500 sorties a day. According to several pieces of information, several hundred thousand have fled the liberated zone to the government one in order to escape the bombings. Communications networks and population centers have been destroyed. A large part of the sown areas are no being worked.

In characterizing the military - political situation in the country, Sufanuvong emphasized during a meeting with V.I. Minin, the Soviet Ambassador to Laos, that the military operations of the People's Army for the Liberation of Laos are being conducted mainly for the defense of the liberated regions as well as the retaking of those areas which were captured by the enemy. The mission of liberating the entire territory of the country has not been set forth. At the same time Sufanuvong noted that the patriotic forces do not intend to let the initiative slip out of their hands and plan on conducting several offensive operations in the zone controlled by the Viantiane administration in an attempt to limit the enemy's maneuvering.

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x/ The official name of the armed forces of Patet Lao since October 1965.

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[TFR 186-32]

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FROM THE JOURNAL OF
I. S. Shcherbakov

Secret Copy No. 2
"12" February 1970
Issue No. 62

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16 FEB 1971
Vietnam
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GENERAL DEPARTMENT"]
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NOTES FROM THE MEETING
with the Deputy DRV Minister of Foreign Affairs
Quang Van Tien

2 February 1971

I met with Quang Van Tien in the MID DRV at his request.

In accordance with the agreement, Quang Van Tien informed us about the evaluation of the current situation in Indochina.

The Deputy Minister reported that the US imperialists, suffering losses in Indochina, continue their aggression. The recent statements made by Lehjrd and Rodzhers, following strategic discussions on Indochina, are evidence of the American's preparations for new military actions.

In South Vietnam the US and it's puppets are vigorously following the policy of "pacification". They are continuing to bomb population centers and use poisonous chemicals.

US Air Force aircraft, including B-52's, are bombing the territory of the DRV. Recently, poisonous chemical agents were used over the province of Quang Binh.

Following Lehjrd's trip to Cambodia, the US expanded it's participation in the war on this front. They made extensive use of the Air Force, to include B-52's, ships from the 7th Fleet and ground forces.

Aerial bombing was used extensively in Laos, especially in Southern Laos. Over a period of several days up to 400 sorties of aircraft dropped as much as 1,000 tons of bombs. Several thousand Thai soldiers once again crossed the border into the country. Saigon is concentrating it's forces for the purpose of opening up an operation in Southern Laos, similar to the invasion into Cambodia in 1970. In association with this, on 29 January of this year Rodzhers discussed the unlimited usage of US Air Force assets in Indochina. In it, he repeated the trite argument of the Americans about "protecting the lives of it's soldiers in South Vietnam" which doesn't stand up to criticism and is directed at misinforming the world's public opinion.

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However, the Vietnamese people decisively carry out the will of Ho Chi Minh and in accordance with the Appeal of the TsK PTV and DRV government of 10 December 1970 will fight until total victory is achieved.

[TFR 186-32a]

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25s/2 2 Mar 71"]

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Quang Van Tien further noted that a timely reaction by the Soviet Union to the statements of the Laotian Patriotic Front TsK and the DRV MID of 1 February this year was of major significance. Referring to Deputy Minister, [Quang Van Tien] stated his gratitude the government and people of the USSR for their energetic support, in particular, for A. N. Kosygin's speech at a Moscow reception held in honor of the Syrian delegation on 1 February. He then reported on the desire of the Prime Minister Comrade Fam Van Dong to meet the ambassador [me] on 3 February about information on the opinion of the Vietnamese side concerning the meeting between Dobrynin and Kissinger, which the ambassador had informed him about earlier.

I thanked Quang Van Tien for the information and said that I was ready to meet with Comrade Fam Van Dong.

For our part, according to instructions from Center, I informed Quang Van Tien concerning the preparation of the operation in Southern Laos. Then, also on the basis of the material received from Center, I told Quang Van Tien about the meeting between A. N. Kosygin and American Senator Maski.

Quang Van Tien thanked me for the information and said that he would report it to Comrade Fam Van Dong.

Nguyen Tien Suan and Dan Dinh Khoj, employees of the MID DRV USSR Department and Embassy translator E. A. Bazdurev were present at the meeting.

USSR AMBASSADOR TO THE DRV [signature]
(I. Shcherbakov)

Typed 1 copy
1 - OYuVA
2 - TsK KPSS Department
3 - file copy
11 Feb 71
MP No. 148
sb.

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[handwritten "15 Feb 71"]

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[TFR 186-34]

FROM THE JOURNAL OF
I. M. MERKULOV

[handwritten "213"]
Secret Copy No. 2
"12" November 1970
Issue No. 657

[the stamp has "37977" stamped between the first and second lines]

[stamp " TsK KPSS
17 NOV 1970
Vietnam
RETURN TO THE TsK KPSS
GENERAL DEPARTMENT"]

NOTES FROM A MEETING
with the Deputy Head for the USSR and Eastern European Countries Department Ta Khyu Kanh

7 November 1970

I visited Ta Khyu Kanh at the MID DRV at his request.

Kanh stated the following:

The DRV government, guided by it's humanitarian policy, adopted the resolution to implement the following measures for the American fliers who were arrested in North Vietnam:

1). Allow the fliers' families to send them packages with gifts (weighing no more than five kilograms) as an exception for Christmas and New Year's 1971 (vice the existing DRV laws which state packages cannot weigh in excess of 3 kg). The packages must be sent through the Moscow postal system (via Moscow) in the established manner. The packages will not be delivered if they are sent in any other fashion.

2). In connection with the aforementioned holidays, the families of the American fliers can send postcards through the mail or via the Committee on Contacts between American fliers arrested in North Vietnam and their families, which is located in New York. This committee has be given permission to send a representative to Hanoi to deliver the postcards.

Kanh stated further that the US government, concerning matters involving the so called military POWs, usually tries to disorient the opinion of the American people and the world. One may expect that this will hold true in this instance. The fact that ruling circles in the US are attempting to resort to actions directed at causing the world public opinion to go against the DRV, such as was the case last year with the activities of American millionaires, can not be excluded.

[stamp "Informational material familiarized in the Department of the TsK KPSS
Sector Head [illeg. signature]
15-D/2 20 Nov 1970"]

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20 Nov 1970"]

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Therefore, the MID DRV asks the Soviet side for joint action against such attempts by the Americans. The MID DRV also appeals to the Soviet side for cooperation in transferring the mentioned packages as long as they are sent in accordance with established regulations.

The Committee on Contact between American POWs and their families, located in New York, will be notified as soon as possible concerning the proper procedure for sending packages and postcards. The decision by the DRV government on this issue is planned to be transmitted via radio on 9 November of this year. There is a possibility that it will also be published in the press.

I replied that I would inform the ambassador.

4). Referring to our meeting on 4 November of this year, Kanh stated that the Vietnamese-Soviet Friendship Society is tasked with the matter of giving out prizes for the winners of the radio contest "Lenin in our hearts" and the "Moscow News" newspaper competition on the topic of "What do you know about Lenin?". The Embassy can make all the arrangements concerning this matter with this Society.

5). Referring to the same meeting on 4 November, Kanh stated he is officially reporting that the Soviet Embassy can talk directly to the Vietnamese-Soviet Friendship Society about all matters concerning relations of Soviet organizations with this Society.

I thanked Kanh for this information.

Nguyen Tien Suan, the USSR and Eastern European Department recorder, was present at the meeting.

USSR EMBASSY ADVISOR TO THE DRV

[signature] (I. Merkulov)

1 copy
YuOVA
d. TsK KPSS
file copy
1970
68

[illeg. handwriting]

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[TFR 186-36]

FROM THE JOURNAL OF
M. P. ISAEV

[handwritten "41"]
[handwritten "to Comrade Takhmanin"]
Secret Copy No. 3
"13" November 1970
No. 641 /YuVA

[stamp "TsK KPSS
37665
13 Nov 1970
Return to the TsK KPSS
General Department"]

[handwritten "15-D/12"]

NOTES FROM A MEETING
with the First Secretary of the Democratic
Republic of Vietnam's Embassy in the USSR
Nguyen Van Quang

13 November 1970

I met with Nguyen Van Quang.

Referring to the instructions from the MID DRV, Nguyen Van Quang informed me about the main points of the decision made by the DRV government in the first part of November of this year in regards to American fliers, captured in North Vietnam:

1/ The American fliers will be allowed to receive packages weighing up to 5 kilograms (vice the normal three kilograms) from their families for Christmas 1970 and New Year's 1971. These packages must be sent by mail through Moscow in accordance with established procedures. Any packages sent via other means will not be delivered.

2/ The American pilots who were captured in North Vietnam will be allowed to receive postcards from their families for the Christmas and New Year's holidays. These post cards may be sent through the mail or through the KOLIAFAM organization in New York. The American pilots will also be allowed to send New Year's postcards to their families. The Vietnamese government will attach a greeting to each of these postcards.

3/ The Vietnamese people intend to organize a holiday celebration for the American fliers for the Christmas and New Year's holidays (showing films).

Nguyen Van Quang emphasized that the decision made by the DRV government is further evidence of it's humanitarian relationship toward American fliers, captured in North Vietnam. The government requests that the Soviet side, as in years past, provide assistance in shipping these packages.

I promised Nguyen Van Quang that I would deliver this information mentioned above to the leadership of the YuVA Department.

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[TFR 186-36a]

First Secretary
Southeast Asia Department (YuVA)
MID USSR [signature "M. ISAEV"]

[handwritten "Archive [illeg.] 20 Nov 70"]
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[TFR 186-37]
[handwritten "to Comrade Ul'yanovskij"]
[handwritten "37"]
Secret Copy No. 5
"25" February 1971
No. 96 /YuVA

["08338" stamped over stamp between the first and second lines]
[stamp "TsK KPSS
23 FEB 1971
Return to the TsK KPSS
General Department"] [handwritten "15-D/12"]

NOTES FROM THE MEETING
between the Deputy Director of the MID USSR Southeast Asia Department V.P. VDOVIN and the DRV Embassy advisor in Moscow Vu Tuan

24 February 1971

I met with Vu Tuan at his request.

In accordance with instructions, Vu Tuan informed me about the current situation in Indochina.

Laos. The American-Saigon forces which have invaded Southern Laos are, in the words of Vu Tuan, in a difficult position.

The plans of the American command, centered around the blockade of the "Ho Chi Minh Trail", have failed completely. Since the beginning of the operation 12 days ago, the Saigon forces have penetrated a total of only 15-20 km along highway No. 9 and are conducting military operations along a 15 km wide corridor. The number of Saigon forces conducting the operation directly on Laotian territory is approximately 10,000 personnel. These forces, penetrating along the branches of the "Ho Chi Minh Trail", are cut off from the main body of 30,000 personnel. The main body of the force is located on the border where Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam meet. This group does not have the capability of providing support to the forces that are cut-off and surrounded due to large scale military operations being conducted by the Vietnamese patriots in the northern sector of South Vietnam (Quang Chi province), that is to say in the rear areas of the units which were to be used in the battles along the "Ho Chi Minh Trail". Approximately 1,800 soldiers and officers of the American-Saigon forces were lost and 126 helicopters were shot down during the military operations in Laos. The "B-52" anti-tank weapon has been especially effective against helicopters.

In northern Laos the patriots have occupied the crucial positions surrounding the royal capital of Luang-Prabanga, captured Samtkhong and surrounded Longcheng.

When asked whether or not any Thai forces were participating in the military operations in southern Laos, Vu Tuan answered that there weren't any.

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Cambodia. Noting that the military situation in Cambodia can not be viewed as separate from that in Laos and South Vietnam, Vu Tuan reported the following. The number of Saigon forces in Cambodia is 20,000 personnel. The main battles are currently being fought along highway No. 7. The patriotic forces of Cambodia have killed two thousand soldiers and officers, to include the Commander of Saigon forces in Cambodia Lieutenant General Do Kao Chi, as well as 2 Colonels and 2 Lieutenant Colonels of the Saigon army.

South Vietnam. In the words of Vu Tuan, the patriots are increasing their military operations in order to deter and destroy the forces of the American-Saigon army.

The military situation is becoming quite complicated for the enemy due to the spread of anti-war sentiment among the units. The soldiers are refusing to participate in military operations. The groups which oppose the current Saigon regime are becoming more active. The most noteworthy fact here is that Tkhieu is being labeled as a direct protege of the US and the main perpetrator in the invasion of Laos.

The invasion of Laos has caused a vast wave of protest from the entire world, to include the US. Tuan notes here however that the level of protest is not anywhere near the level seen during the May 1970 invasion of Cambodia.

Vu Tuan emphasized that as a whole, the situation in Indochina is quite complicated and new provocations by the US can be expected, to include a possible air assault into the southern region of the DRV. However, Tuan stated that they are ready, should this occur, and that no saboteur will leave the DRV alive.

I thanked Vu Tuan for the information. I noted that the Soviet Union places a great amount of attention on the blatant aggression of the US in Indochina.

Vu Tuan noted further that in March of this year, an international conference of Red Cross representative will take place in Holland and that, according to their information, the Soviet delegation will take part.

Vu Tuan asked for cooperation in order that the Soviet delegation would unveil the blatant crimes of American imperialism in Vietnam at the conference,

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especially since the DRV delegation will not be present at the conference.

Vu Tuan mentioned that we must be prepared because our enemies are going to bring up the question of American POWs. Although the DRV's position on this matter is well known, the DRV embassy intends to visit the legislative committee of the SOKK and KP and give them the corresponding materials and ask for support for the DRV's position on this matter.

Vu Tuan also touched upon the question concerning the activity of the MKK on Laos. He noted that recently the Canadian government presented proposals for reestablishing the activities of this commission and for convening a new international conference concerning the problems in Laos. Our Polish comrades refused these proposals. The DRV position coincides with the positions of our Soviet, Polish and Laotian comrades which is that it would not be advisable to reestablish the activities of the MKK in Laos.

Vu Tuan also mentioned the proposal of the government of India concerning the regulation of the situation in Laos which includes the following:

1. The necessity of observing the neutrality, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Laos.
2. The withdrawal of all foreign forces from Laos.
3. Cooperation between the MKK and Laos in the political regulation of the situation in Laos in accordance with the Geneva Accords of 1962.

Vu Tuan stated that the first and second points of the Indian proposal completely serve the plans of the US government, which recently presented similar proposals. In fact, this corresponds to the well known five point Nixon plan and the resolutions of the Jakarta conference on Cambodia.

The DRV government, according to Tuan, denounces these proposals and asks the Soviet side to do the same.

I told my guest that we thwarted the attempts of the British, Canadian and Japanese to use the mechanism of the Geneva Accords for covering the aggressive actions of the US in Laos.

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[TFR 186-40]

We explained to the Indians that it would not be advisable to activate the MKK in Laos.

At the end of the meeting Vu Tuan reported that Ul'ef and Barbero, 2 Filipino Congressmen, appealed to the DRV government with a request that they be allowed to come to the DRV on a good will visit. In the words of Vu Tuan, the Filipinos were in the Soviet Union during the first part of 1970. In connection with that visit, he requested that, if it is possible, we give him any information that we may have concerning these statesmen.

I said that if we had any kind of materials, we would hand them over to our Vietnamese friends.

YuVA advisor Comrade A.A. Smirnov, Department Third Secretary Comrade Yu. M. Goryachenkov and DRV Embassy interpreter Vu Quan were present at the meeting.

[signature]
V. VDOVIN

[stamp "Informational material
familiarized in the International
Department of the TsK KPSS.
Sector Head [signature]
25s/"]
[signature "E. Kobelev"]

[signature "M. Kovalev"]
[handwritten "22 Mar 71"]

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[TFR 186-41]

[handwritten "1"]

USSR EMBASSY
TO THE DRV

Secret Copy No. 1
"12" January 1971
Issue No. 2

[stamp "TsK KPSS
[stamped after first line on stamp "02908"]18 JAN 1971
[handwritten on stamp "15-D/12"] Vietnam
RETURN TO THE TsK KPSS
GENERAL DEPARTMENT"]

DEPARTMENT OF THE TsK KPSS

We are forwarding this message from Comrades Le Zuan and Fam Van Dong, which was received by the Embassy via the MID DRV on 31 December 1970.

The MID informed us that similar messages had been sent to other socialist countries.

The text of the message was sent by telegraph earlier.

Attachment: The message is in Vietnamese and consists of two pages - was sent only to the addressee, a translation consisting of 2 pages - was sent to the addressee and file.

USSR AMBASSADOR TO THE DRV [signature]
(I. Shcherbakov)

Typed 1 copy
1 - to addressee
2 - file copy
6 Jan 71
MP No. 21
sb.

[stamp "Informational material
familiarized in the Department
of the TsK KPSS
Sector Head [signature]
D/12 "5" FEB 71"]

[illeg. signature]
[handwritten "In archive [illeg. signature]"]

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[TFR 186-42]

[handwritten "2"]

TO THE GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE
OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION

Comrade L.I. BREZHNEV

and

CHAIRMAN OF THE USSR COUNCIL OF MINISTERS

Comrade A.N. Kosygin

MOSCOW

Respected Comrades,

On 2 December, 1970, the Political Consultative Committee of the state-participants of the Warsaw Pact, meeting in Berlin, presented a statement in which they sharply condemned American Imperialism for it's new serious military actions against the DRV and for spreading the aggressive war throughout Indochina. The conference stated it's solidarity with the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia in their just struggle against the US to save their homeland.

On 16 December, 1970, the Soviet government made a statement in support of the Appeal of the Vietnamese Workers Party Central Committee and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

All of these acts provide powerful support and, to a significant degree, inspire the Vietnamese people. They are carrying out the holy will of the revered President Ho Chi Minh with all their might. The people are repelling every new offensive action of the American imperialists in a decisive manner. They are standing shoulder to shoulder with the peoples of Laos and Cambodia to successfully deter US aggression and are making a contribution to the common struggle of the people for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

[stamp "02908"]

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In the name of the Vietnamese people, the Worker's Party of Vietnam and the government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam we express deep gratitude to the Communist Party, the Soviet government and our Soviet brethren, who constantly provided immense, valuable and effective support and assistance in our struggle against the US to save our homeland and build socialism.

Upon this occasion, we wish the Soviet people, under the leadership of the Communist party, great success in creating a material-technical base of communism in the Soviet Union and in the struggle for peace in Europe and the world as a whole.

Let us continually strengthen and develop military solidarity and brotherly friendship between the parties and people's of our nations.

We wish you good health.

FIRST SECRETARY OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE
OF THE VIETNAMESE WORKER'S PARTY

LE ZUAN

PRIME MINISTER OF THE GOVERNMENT OF
THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM

PAM VAN DONG

Hanoi, 31 December 1970

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[TFR 186-44]

[handwritten "to Comrade Rakhmanin"]

[handwritten "88"]

[stamp "TsK KPSS
16 MAY 1971
RETURN TO THE TsK KPSS
GENERAL DEPARTMENT"]

Secret Copy No. 3
"18" May 1971
No. 287/YuVA

["18255" is stamped over the stamp between the first and second lines and "15-D/12" is handwritten under the date]

NOTES FROM THE MEETING

between the Deputy Director of the Southeast Asia Department MID USSR Yu. I. KUZNETSOV and the DRV Embassy advisor to the USSR Vu Toan.

18 May 1971

I met with Vu Toan at his request.

Acting on orders from Hanoi, Vu Toan reported the following.

1. The TsK PTV party delegation headed by TsK PTV Politburo member DRV Deputy Prime Minister Comrade Le Tkhan' Ngi is coming to Prague to take part in the work of the XIV session of the KPCh. Members of the delegation include TsK PTV member Nguyen Van Kinh (former DRV ambassador to the USSR), and the DRV ambassador to Prague. The delegation is comprised of 7 members.

The delegation is flying out of Hanoi on a special Vietnamese aircraft (crew of eight) on 22 May to Peking, where it will have a two hour layover.

The delegation will fly to Irkutsk the same day,will spend the night there and will fly to Prague via Moscow on 23 May. It is planning to make a short stopover in Moscow.

Our Vietnamese comrades are requesting permission to have a Soviet navigator fly on board the IL-18 special aircraft during the Irkutsk-Prague flight segment of the journey. They also request that a resupply of in-flight meals be provided at Irkutsk (to Prague).

Upon completion of the KPCh's XIV session, Comrade Le Tkhan' Ngi would like to stop in Moscow for a few days and meet with Comrade Novikov. If V.N. Novikov wishes, matters concerning economic cooperation between the USSR and the DRV for 1972 can be discussed during this meeting.

Comrade Le Tkanh Ngi is expected to arrive in Moscow on either 31 May or 1 June.

For our part, I stated that I would inform the leadership about the request from our Vietnamese comrades.

[handwritten "In the archives [illeg.] 31 May 71"]

[stamp"Informational material familiarized in the Department of the TsK KPSS
15-D/12 31 May 1971"]

[signature "Ognetov"]

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[TFR 186-45]

2. Referring to reports that have been received, Vu Toan brought attention to the conference of experts on international law which begins on 24 May of this year in Geneva. The conference will focus on the development of additions to the Geneva Conventions concerning POW's. In addition, the International Red Cross is holding a conference on 24 May in Geneva under the motto "Humanitarianism and human rights". Our Vietnamese comrades believe that the American representatives might use the platform of these conferences to slander the DRV. They believe the US will use the notorious question concerning American fliers who were shot down over Vietnam. In connection with this, our Vietnamese comrades request that the Soviet representatives energetically support the DRV's position concerning the matter of military POW's and decisively oppose the slanderous statements, should they arise, of the US representatives.

I noted that I wasn't involved in the matters of the Geneva meetings but was fully convinced that the Soviet representatives will undoubtedly do everything in their power to support the DRV's position, just as they do at every international meeting or conference.

3. Vu Toan expressed a great interest in the Middle East situation and especially in regards to the development of events in the United Arab Republic (UAR). He proposed an exchange of opinions on these issues.

I said that this could be done at the next meeting.

The DRV Embassy interpreter and the Third Secretary of the YuVA MID USSR V. Shvedov were present at the meeting.

[signature "Yu. Kuznetsov"]

6-gt/VSh
yuvam/879
18 May 71
1. Office of V.N. Novikov
2. Office of V.V. Kuznetsov
3. Department of the TsK KPSS (Comrade O. B. Rakhmanin)
4. Office of N.P. Firyubin
5. UOMP
6. file copy

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[TFR 186-46]

FROM THE JOURNAL OF
I.S. SHCHRBAKOV

[handwritten "112"]
Secret Copy No. 2
"9" July 1971
Issue No. 375

[stamp "TsK KPSS
15 July 1971 25589
RETURN TO THE GENERAL
DEPARTMENT OF THE TsK KPSS"]
[handwritten "15-D/12"]

NOTES FROM THE MEETING

with the DRV Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs
NGUYEN KO TKHAT'

1 July 1971

I met with Nguyen Ko Tkhat' at his invitation in the government "reception hall".

Nguyen Ko Tkhat' reported that Comrades Le Dyk Tkho and Suan Tkhyui met privately with Kissinger on 26 June in Paris. The meeting showed that the US continues to count on a military solution to the Vietnamese problem and is opposed to political negotiations. The US stipulates the condition for withdrawing it's forces from South Vietnam on the retention of power by the current Saigon administration and at the same time demands that the North Vietnamese forces withdraw from South Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. The Vietnamese side condemned the Nixon administration for it's obstinacy and demanded the withdrawal of all American forces and US backed foreign forces from South Vietnam and that support for the militarist faction of Nguyen Van Tkhieu be terminated. The Vietnamese side declared the liberation of all military POW's will take place simultaneously with the withdrawal of all US and US backed foreign forces from South Vietnam.

Nguyen Ko Tkhat' noted that the world situation is developing favorably for our Vietnamese comrades. The movement in support of Vietnam is widening in every country. The American public is demanding that it's government withdraw all American forces within a certain time frame.

In addition, delegations of the American public, arriving in Paris, asked the DRV and VRP RYuV representatives to further

[handwritten "In the archives [illeg.] 22 Sep 71"]
[stamp "Informational material familiarized in the
Department of the TsK KPSS
Sector Head [signature "Ognetov"]
D/12 "22" Sep 71"]
[illeg. handwriting]

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clarify their position in relation to American military POW's. Under these conditions, the DRV and VRP RYuV consider it necessary to present new proposals on the matter of POW's in order that Nixon would become more isolated.

Nguyen Ko Tkhat' said that the struggle of the South Vietnamese people is going well. The political crisis in South Vietnam is increasing. Taking all of this into consideration, our Vietnamese comrades have decided to engage in a new diplomatic offensive. After Le Dyk Tkho and Suan Tkhyui consulted with Hanoi, a decision was made to go to Paris with new proposals.

Nguyen Ko Tkhat' gave us a text of the seven point statement of the VRP RYuV dated 1 July and explained it to me.

The Deputy Prime Minister pointed out the new shifts in the position of our Vietnamese comrades:

1. The two most important matters of these new proposals are: a) establishment of a set time frame for the US to withdraw it's forces in 1971, b) the termination of US support for the Nguyen Van Tkhieu faction. Nothing is mentioned about Ki and Kkhiem in the new statement in order to isolate Tkhieu;

2. The withdrawal of US forces and the liberation of prisoners must start at the same time and end at the same time;

3. The Vietnamese side considers the upcoming elections in South Vietnam as a trick and that the US plans to use these elections to keep Tkhieu in power. Our Vietnamese comrades have brought up the question of the creation of a representative popular coalition government. This is very similar to the earlier proposal made by the NFOYuV concerning the creation of a coalition government,

4. Our comrades from Vietnam have brought up the question concerning the halt to the terror and discrimination of people who have collaborated with either side. The purpose of this proposal is to deny the enemy the possibility to contend that the patriotic forces will terrorize the public following a cease fire.

5. Our Vietnamese comrades have also brought up the matter concerning respect

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and international guarantees of signed in future agreements.

Nguyen Ko Tkhat' stated further that despite the defeats the Nixon administration has suffered both in the US and abroad it is continuing it's policy of "Vietnamization". This, in essence, signifies a protraction of the war and continued occupation of South Vietnam by American forces. However, every scheme contrived by the American aggressors would fail. The Vietnamese patriots, guided by the precepts of Ho Chi Minh, are fully determined to fight shoulder to shoulder with the peoples of Laos and Cambodia until total victory is achieved.

Nguyen Ko Tkhat' expressed the hope that the TsK KPSS and Soviet government, as before, would support the new initiative of our Vietnamese comrades in order to force the US to withdraw it's forces from South Vietnam.

On our behalf I stated that our Vietnamese comrades are embarking on a major program of political and diplomatic offensive. The new initiative is being instituted at a time when the Nixon government has come under fire from inside the US. Recently the US Senate - a governmental agency, when called upon to define the policy of the country spoke out for the withdrawal of US forces over a nine month time period. At the same time I indicated that one should not place to much value on this success by US anti-war forces. It is well known that the House of Representatives of the US Congress turned down the Senate's decision.

I noted that our Vietnamese comrades are primarily concentrating on the main issue - the withdrawal of American forces over a certain time frame. It would be tactically prudent to link the matter of the time frame for the withdrawal of US forces with the matter concerning the release of military POWs even more tightly. In addition, it is our opinion that the ~~Americans wouldn't agree to establishing such a time frame solely~~ in exchange for the release of military POWs. The US is trying to subordinate the matter of the withdrawal of it's forces to it's main task - keeping the current regime in power.

I pointed out that the resolution of the internal matters of South Vietnam was not realistically possible until after the Americans withdraw their forces.

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Our Vietnamese comrades are correct in demanding that the US terminate all support for Tkhieu. According to reports from the head of the Polish delegation to the MKK in Saigon Comrade Tvorog, the majority of the population in South Vietnam wants the war to end, consider the Tkhieu regime to be transient and sees the unity of the national forces as the security of a stabile power. Consequently, the only support for Tkhieu are the US forces and the puppet army.

I expressed my belief that the new initiative of our Vietnamese comrades will get the attention of the world community. I was convinced that these new proposals would unconditionally find complete support in the USSR. The directives of the XXIV session of the KPSS armed us with a precise program of support in the just struggle of the peoples of Indochina. The USSR gives the Vietnamese people not only moral-political support, but material support as well. I reminded my guest that I already informed the Prime Minister, Comrade Fam Van Dong, about the additional Soviet aid to the DRV in 1971.

I expressed a desire to meet with Defense Minister Vo Nguyen Ziap in order to inform him about the issues presented by the Vietnamese side in the meetings with the Soviet military delegation, headed by Comrade Dagaev, which visited the DRV in April of this year.

Nguyen Ko Tkhat' promised to give our request to Vo Nguyen Ziap.

I informed Nguyen Ko Tkhat' of the great sorrow felt by the Soviet people - from the death of three Soviet cosmonauts. I indicated that this was a tragic finale to a brilliantly fulfilled science research program. I asked that he relay our gratitude to the corresponding agencies for the publication of materials in the "Nyan Zan" newspaper concerning these space heroes.

The Deputy Minister expressed sincere condolences in connection with this unexpected tragic loss.

I. A. Novikov, an intern at the USSR Embassy, was present at the meeting. Dang Dyk Kkhoj, an employee of the MID DRV translated the meeting.

USSR AMBASSADOR TO THE DRV

[signature]
I. SHCHERBAKOV

Typed 1 copy
1 - OYuVA
2 - Department of the TsK KPSS
3 - file copy
8 July 71
[handwritten "[illeg.] 15 July 71"]

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Reference: Nos. 26440, 24001

to Comrades K. V. Rusakov, Ya. V. Zaplatin, N. I. Savinkin

I request that you prepare proposals.

[signature "Kirilenko"]

71

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[entire page is handwritten.]

Reference. No. 24601

Comrade V. M. Chebrikov
to Bugaev B. P.
Request to study this issue
and provide
your opinion

[signature "Kirilenko"]

71

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[TFR 186-52]

[handwritten "110"]

Secret

[stamp with state seal
"USSR Committee for State Security
attached to the USSR Council of Ministers
23 July 1971
No. 1870-ch
city of Moscow"]

[stamp "TsK KPSS
23 July 1971 26440
MUST BE RETURNED TO
THE GENERAL DEPARTMENT
OF THE TsK KPSS"]

TsK KPSS

The Committee for State Security believes that it is possible to agree in principle with the proposal set forth in comrade M. V. Zakharov's note about organizing charter flights on "Aeroflot" for groups of passengers from Hanoi to Paris via Moscow with the FRG tourist agency "Ostturist" acting as middleman.

In so far as the entire operation will include the transport of about 5000 persons, the issue here might be the organization of transportation for American POWs. It is evident that it will be necessary to have the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs inform the DRV Ministry of Foreign Affairs on the substance of the issue and to ascertain the Democratic Republic of Vietnam's point of view.

Deputy Chairman of the Committee
for State Security

[signature] V. Chebrikov

26 July 1971
[cut off]/KSvv
[cut off]1.

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[TFR 186-53]

[handwritten "192"]

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Only Copy

[stamp "TsK KPSS
7 July 1971 26017
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THE GENERAL DEPARTMENT
OF THE TsK KPSS"]

TsK KPSS
[handwritten [illeg.] "A/6"]

I am reporting:

At the end of March 1971, the director of the FRG's tourist firm "Ostturist" KNOBLOKH approached the "Aeroflot" representative office in Paris and inquired as to the possibility of that organization transporting groups of passengers (without naming nationalities) by chartered flights of "Aeroflot" aircraft from Peking through Moscow to any point in Europe. He hinted that the Vatican is involved with this matter.

On 26 June, KNOBLOKH again arrived in Paris from the FRG, specifically for the coordination of the terms of a contract for the transportation of a group of 272 passengers from Hanoi through Moscow to Paris, or to any other point in Europe, during the period of 20 to 31 July.

According to KNOBLOKH, his firm is the only one that is commissioned to conduct negotiations with "Aeroflot" on this matter and that this operation will include the transport of about 5000 people.

KNOBLOKH's request was made verbally, but he announced his readiness to send an official written inquiry on the transport of tourists without a detailed explanation. From the meeting with KNOBLOKH and from his hints, the "Aeroflot" representatives in Paris came to the conclusion that this was about the transport of American prisoners of war - about an evacuation which is being prepared or has already been agreed upon between the US and the DRV.

[signature] M. SAKHAROV

"6/7" July 1971
No. 313/
2/KS, 13 Jul 1971
1 page, nn/vv

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[TFR 186-54]

USSR
Minister
of Civil Aviation
20 July 1971
No. 05610
Moscow, A-167
Leningrad Prospect, 37

[handwritten "192"]
Secret
Copy No. 1

[stamp "TsK KPSS
20 July 1971 26017
SUBJECT TO RETURN TO
THE TsK KPSS SECTION"]

The FRG tourist firm's request for the transportation of tourists.

TsK KPSS

With reference to No. 24601 dated 7 Jul 1971.

[illeg. handwriting]

In connection with my assignment, I am reporting·

The transport of passengers through or from Peking by chartered Aeroflot flights that are proposed by the West German tourist firm "Ostturist" is undesirable, as the Chinese side could come forward with a similar request to fly chartered flights through Moscow to third party countries in Europe.

The transport of passengers from Hanoi is fully feasible and the Ministry of Civil Aviation is prepared to carry out chartered flights along the route· Hanoi - Vientiane - Calcutta - Karachi - Tashkent - Moscow - Paris (or other cities in Europe).

In order for these flights to take place, the Ministry of Civil Aviation must have a request/contract from the "Ostturist" tourist firm no later than 16 days before the initiation of these flights to receive the right to fly over the territories of third party countries (Burma, Pakistan).

The "Ostturist" tourist firm may conclude a contract with the Aeroflot representative in Paris, who, in the event of an affirmative reply, will be given the appropriate instructions.

[signature] B. Bugaev

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[TFR 186-55]
Secret

TsK KPSS
[Illeg. handwriting] to Nos. 24601, 26440, 26017

In view of Comrade M. V. Zakharov's memorandum (General Staff) and the comments of Comrade T. Chebrikov (KGB) and Comrade T. Bugaev (MCA), I am reporting.

While studying the issue it was not possible to determine the category of passengers, proposed for transport on Aeroflot aircraft. It also turned out that the tourist firm, mentioned in Comrade Zakharov's memorandum, has neither precise flight dates or an exact number of passengers and was not specific regarding the flight's point of origin and destination.

If by chance there is discussion regarding the transport of American prisoners of war, it is necessary to keep the following in mind. The position of our Vietnamese friends regarding the American prisoners of war issue amounts to the prisoners' liberation will begin only after an agreement is reached with the US on the complete withdrawal of American forces from South Vietnam by the end of 1971. Both operations - the liberation of prisoners and the complete withdrawal of US forces should be completed at the same time. Up to this point, the American side has avoided responding to these Vietnamese proposals, therefore, there is no basis to discuss a practical solution to the issue of the liberation of American prisoners of war.

It cannot be ruled out, that the actions of the FRG tourist firm's management were inspired by American influence and are an attempt to pressure the DRV to hasten the resolution of the issue regarding the liberation of American prisoners, as well as to worsen relations between the USSR and the DRV. Our Vietnamese friends did not turn to us with any requests concerning American prisoners and our initiative on this issue could provoke an adverse reaction from their side. Le Duk To, when in Moscow on a trip, announced that nothing is known by the PTV leadership regarding the FRG tourist firm's proposed flights.

We would consider it best to pay no heed to the initiative of the FRG tourist firm. We are in agreement with the KGB (Comrade Chebrikov) and the Ministry of Civil Aviation (Comrade Bugaev).

Chief of Administrative Agencies TsK KPSS	Deputy Chief for Liason with Communist and Worker's Parties of Socialist Countries	Deputy Chief of the International Department TsK KPSS
[Signature] (N. Savinkin)	[Signature] (O. Rakhmanin)	[Signature] (R. Ul'yanovskij)

3 August 1971
KVF No.15-D-1286 4 August 71 [Handwritten "Comrade Savinkin"]
[Illegible handwriting; 9.8]

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[TFR 186-56]

[handwritten "to 71 No. 115s"]
[stamp "TsKhSD
O 5
Op 63
d 320
l.l. 106-111"]

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[TFR 186-57]

Secret
Copy 1
Attachment to the letter of TsKhSD
from 18 August 1993, No. 114s
List
of Xeroxed copies of documents concerning transporting passengers on chartered Aeroflot flights from Hanoi to Paris

No. 1	Document No. 2	Document Contents 3	Archival Citation 4	Pages 5
1.	Entry No. 24601 of 7 July 1971	Note from the General Staff of the Ministry of Defense on the request of the FRG tourist agency "Ostturist" about transporting American POWs on Aeroflot aircraft from Peking through Moscow to third-party countries in Europe.	f.5,op.63,d.320, ll.106-108	3
2.	Entry No. 26017 of 20 July 1971	Note from the Ministry of Civil Aviation on organizing transport of passengers from Hanoi through Moscow to Paris (or other European cities) on chartered Aeroflot flights	f.5,op.63,d.320 l.109	1
3.	Entry No. 26440 of 23 July 1971	Note from the KGB under the Council of Ministers of the USSR on organizing the transport of groups of passengers from Hanoi through Moscow to Paris	f.5,op.63,d.320, l.110	1
4.	without a No.	Note from a department of the administrative organs of the TsK KPSS, a TsK KPSS department with ties to communist and worker parties in socialist countries, and an international department of the	f.5,op.63,d.320, l.111	1

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[TFR 186-57a]

TsK KPSS on the inadvisability of fulfilling the request of the FRG tourist agency "Ostturist" on transporting American POWs on Aeroflot aircraft

Uch. No. 115s
[signature] Bolotinets